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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bañúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *silóyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Axináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwazán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwazán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

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5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

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6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélăy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélăy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélăy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

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Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

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7. The use of love charms (*mañímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

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Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dénu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kélay*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work etc.

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instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc. And so a boy who goes to court a girl may expect to be asked, if not for all three ingredients, which is the usual case, at least for one or two of the same. Now here he has a nice opportunity of putting his love charm to good use; both the latter and the chewing material being carried in the same pouch, it is not hard for him to place a little of the precious ointment, under cover of darkness, either on the nut or on the leaf of betel pepper that is handed to the girl. Contact could hardly be more immediate, as the girl will not only touch the love charm, but even chew it, and perhaps swallow it with a part of her saliva.

Another way almost equally efficient is to dip his little finger in the oil of love, and, while proffering a leaf or a nut to his girl, to push the same finger into her extended hand: the girl takes hold of it and forcibly comes in contact with the charm, while the boy, merely to dissimulate, usually asks her: "Why do you take hold of my finger?" In my humble opinion such a stereotyped question, if often repeated, can hardly fail to expose the lover's artifice, and so excite the girl's suspicions, with the possible result of seeing his further attentions definitely rejected; but the Isneg strongly believes that his love charm has real power, and so he is convinced that the intended result will have been obtained as soon as the girl touches his finger, even though afterwards she may understand the stratagem: she will already have fallen under the spell, and the deceit will have become quite unobjectionable to her. Or, and this is perhaps the true explanation, the girl may be very willing to accept the boy's advances, and so any amount of tricks on the part of the boy to win her love can do nothing else but please her, as in this way she will not be obliged to confess her own love toward him, and the blame of the whole affair will be borne by the innocuous love charm. Indeed, once matters have come to such a pass that the boy is received with pleasure by the girl in question, so much so that she asks him for chewing materials in her own home, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the lady is very willing to cast in her lot with that of her suitor.

If neither of these two ways is in the young man's reach, for the obvious reason that the girl does not care for his betel nuts, he has a few other means at his disposition. He may put some of the ointment on the girl's blanket, and make it touch her mediately, with at least some probability that it will sooner or later come in contact

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbây: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *tañnó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añimud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

añam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórán, *tagiámo* and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tama-dây* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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832 787 584 [778] are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a journey: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called *malaxi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 836 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-allây* or *maxad-adúg*.

couple. Nothing but joy was displayed in that fare-well party to the departing warriors. 726

With glittering spears, *gaods*, and shields painted red and black, they started for Nagcolman. But soon they must stop for a while at the sacred tree to have their prayers said there; because their guiding *anito* dwelt in that tree. After the prayers, they rose into the air and were soon out of sight. Shortly afterward they were seen in Sagian, a place overlooking Nagcolman. There they must make a generous offering of betel nut to Balaniban, the *anito* in Sagian. The betel nut had to be offered on a shining *aliwa*. Had they failed to do so, Balaniban must deceive them. 726 782

The direction to Nagcolman was then determined, and they vanished into the air; thus arriving by the riverside of their objective. Imlang, the youngest brother and the most handsome, proceeded directly to a certain house in Nagcolman, while the rest stopped at the riverside. Imlang's going to that house was contrary to the brothers' plan; for he himself desired to find a very charming lady who was hidden in the chimney of the house. A great feast was being held there when the invaders arrived; but their arrival was still unknown. Imlang vanished from his seat in the house unnoticed by the people. He was with the fair lady, Naglalanaoan, in the chimney, obtaining her love. No difficulty was offered him in winning the love of the acknowledged belle of the *barangay*. He came to know her by enchantment. 000 [632]

Thereupon, Imlang and his expected bride, as well as the invaders still by the river, prayed that all that was being used in the feast must be brought by en-